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JUL 20 1957

JUL 27 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR: Robert Cutler, Special Assistant to the President

SUBJECT : Existence of Basic Document on Soviet Foreign Policy

1. Your memorandum of 18 July was passed to our Soviet experts for study. They believe that the quotation you cite from the indictment of Molotov refers, in all probability, to a major section of Khrushchev's main address (not his secret speech) at the 20th Soviet party congress on 14 February 1956. In this section, which is entitled, "The possibility of preventing war in the present era," Khrushchev declared outdated the Marxist-Leninist dogma that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. He said that although the danger of war would exist as long as capitalism and imperialism remained, the world camp of socialism had grown strong enough to deter the forces of aggression, and for this reason it is no longer correct to regard war as inevitable.

2. The purpose of this line was to advance the professed Soviet peaceful coexistence thesis by burying forever the doctrine of inevitable war, which had become increasingly embarrassing to Soviet foreign policy because of its discouraging implication that the USSR must defeat the free world in military battle to spread Communism.

3. After Lenin's death his theories about an inevitable clash between the USSR and the capitalist world were frequently modified, but never completely abandoned. It was usually argued that the USSR might succeed in delaying the inevitable for long periods of time. In 1952 Stalin revised the theory, stating that the forces of peace could prevent particular wars, but that until imperialism collapsed, wars among capitalist states, but not necessarily wars between capitalism and communism, were inevitable. He had preserved the form, but changed the spirit of Lenin's theory.

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4. The facts of the atomic age and the need to provide theoretical foundations for the peaceful coexistence policy finally led Khrushchev at the 20th party congress to scrap a dogma that had long outlived its usefulness. At the same time it was an inexpensive way to provide proof of the "new look" in post-Stalin Soviet foreign policy.

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For

[REDACTED]

ROBERT ANKRY, Jr.

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